1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

487 Towakaima and Massawini, but these are exceptions on the lower
361 Barama. Usually, however, each village has more than one trail to the river, perhaps a survival of a more warlike period when alternative means of escape were required in times of attack. On the upper Barama, where the river is less navigable than below the falls, all the settlements are connected by trail, and most of the traveling is done overland.

487 A trail is, after all, only a convenience which is not absolutely
[823] necessary to a Carib and, when traveling lightly loaded, a man does not hesitate to "walk the raw bush" if there is a possibility thereby of saving time. And it is as a result of these raw bush walks that most of the trails are established. The ability of a native to find his way in the unmarked forest is truly astounding to a foreigner, who, until he has become accustomed to jungle conditions, loses all sense of direction once he finds himself surrounded by trees and thick undergrowth which frequently shut out even a view of the sun's position. The river is, however, the lode star of the traveling Carib and, as long as he knows his position in reference to it, he does not lose his bearings. It is believed that moss on the tree trunks invariably grows on the side of the tree which is nearest the river, and I have had this fact pointed out to me many times. Also, men are familiar with the general position of the creeks which flow into the river along the course which they are taking, even if they have never seen the creeks themselves; so that once a creek is reached, one usually knows one's approximate whereabouts. If a man is lost he will keep on until he reaches the next creek, follow it to the river, and then follow the river to a point which is familiar. As a man walks the bush, however, he takes precautions to mark his trail so that he may back-track, if necessary. As has been said before, a cutlass is always carried by individuals when in the bush. As one goes along one hacks the tops of the saplings at practically every step, so that the tops fall over in the direction which one is taking. With the left hand, twigs and saplings are broken and bent over in the same manner. A mutilation of this kind is practically never produced by natural causes, so that a bent or hacked sapling top immediately announces to a traveller that a human being has passed there. Also, the trunks of the trees are slashed with the cutlass as one goes along, leaving gashes in the bark which can be easily identified as trail blazes.

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776 defined beliefs. The affairs of the natural world are under the direct, although not comprehensive, charge of five classes of spirits, which are directly approachable by the medicine men. Each of these five classes or orders of spirits is believed to be related to an original or major spirit in somewhat the same way that a human family is related to its major ancestor. Piyumari is the generalized land spirit particularly associated with the forest and is regarded as more or less benevolent. Masi is the spirit of the air, regarded as omnipresent, as a spirit which sees and knows everything, and which on the whole is looked upon with some disfavor by the medicine men who find him intractable and hard to deal with, and by laymen who say that he does more harm than good. Lakai Akani is the spirit of the waters, the creeks, and rivers. Ume is the spirit of the hills. Mawari is concerned with many miscellaneous affairs such as houses, sickness, industries.

Each of the five names mentioned is associated not only with an individual supernatural being, but also with a class or order of spirits. Thus Piyumari, for instance, is the name of the chief spirit of the order bearing the name of Piyumari, which has the land and forest under control. All the spirits in a given class are equal, all represent without distinction the power pertaining to the class of spirits to which they belong. Each is equally powerful in much the same way as we think of all the members of a monastic order, for instance, as theoretically possessing equal holiness.

776 823 791 Each of these orders of spirits is represented by a stone of a distinctive color or texture: blackish stone (basalt or gabbro) for Piyumari, quartz for Masi, rough sandstone for Ume, greenish jadeite (?) for Makai Abani, and limestone for Mawari. A piaiyen, as will be described in more detail later, during the course of his career becomes familiar with a varying number of spirits depending upon his success. The spirits with which he can regularly establish communion are represented by small pebbles or pieces of stone enclosed in his maraka or rattle. Thus, a piaiyen who is able to work only with Piyumari and Masi will have only black stones and quartz in his rattle. When a neophyte completes his training for piai under an established medicine man, his teacher presents him with two stones representing respectively an individual of one of the above classes of spirits and that individual spirit's wife. It is believed that if the spirits are satisfied in their

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association with a piaiyen, they will breed and multiply, so that as time goes on an original pair of stones will be increased to a large number, each one representing a spirit of the class to which its parents belong. Additional spirits are always useful to a medicine man, as they increase his importance by being available for errands and tasks which he can assign to them.

The spirits with whom a piaiyen is in contact are not believed to live in the rattle at all times, but leave some of their essence in the material form of the stones enclosed in the rattle. Spirits are believed to live in the same way as men in settlements in the bush, hunting, sleeping, making merry, but remaining invisible. Their settlements are not always identifiable, but open spaces in the forest are often pointed out as the clearings of certain settlements of spirits. Thus, an open space caused by the fall of several trees in a high wind is said to have been made for the purpose of habitation by the bush spirits, and consequently is avoided by men. If only one tree has fallen, it is believed that the spirits started to make a clearing and changed their minds. The water spirits are thought to live in settlements under the surfaces of the streams. Thus the Caribs, who have no anthropomorphic idols, nevertheless pay a sort of respect to these stones contained in piaiyen's rattles and believed to represent certain spirits.

In addition to the five classes of natural spirits just mentioned, there are a number of other types of spiritual beings whose connections with the five major classes are more or less indefinite.

The akatombo[1] are regarded as malevolent or mischievous beings who are forever present, waiting to make trouble. Medicine men do not keep these spirits under their control. They come of their own accord to medicine men who chase them away. The sorcerers, however, are more hospitable and sometimes have dealings with this class of spiritual being.

The tiger[2] spirit class is called ashushi. There are a number of different kinds of tiger spirits, just as there are a number of species of tigers in the bush. Other spirits are in fear of tiger spirits in the same way that men are afraid of actual tigers. Consequently, a

[1] Cf. Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, pp. 152–153, "The mainland Caribs term a person's shadow *ai-akaru*, and the spirit resident in this head, his Dream Spirit *aka* or *akari*; but after the latter leaves the body for the forest permanently, it is known as *aka-tomba* (*sic*)." The Barama Caribs repeatedly rejected this identification, insisting that the ghost was called yumbupa akasang.

[2] "Tiger" is the creole designation of any wild member of the cat family. True tigers, of course, are not native to the Western Hemisphere, but since the term is used in much of the literature, it is employed here.